

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce.

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A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6.

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The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.² This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace.

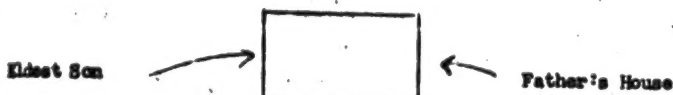
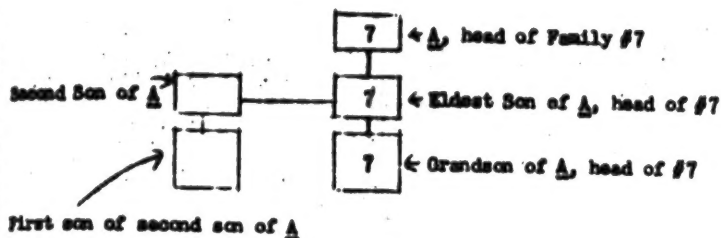
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Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers.

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² Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.



Second and Third Sons establish
Branch Families



Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's
House or to Branch Families established by
their husbands.



The family system, through the succession of the first son to his
father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at
the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent
family.

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to
provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it
has seldom been necessary to use it.

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest
son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first
must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very
poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house.

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or
younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain
in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in
separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the
compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one.

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Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system.

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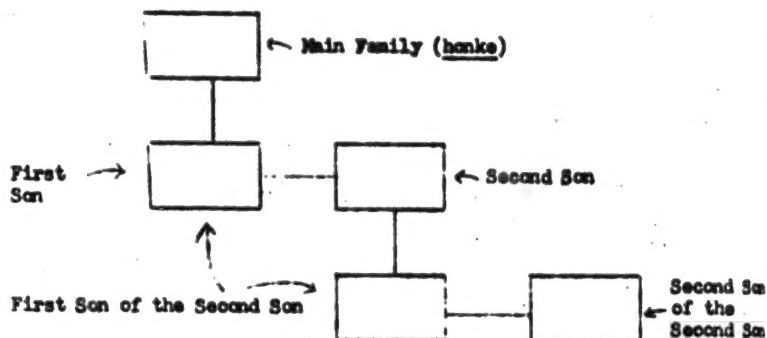
Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (*dansetsu* in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan.

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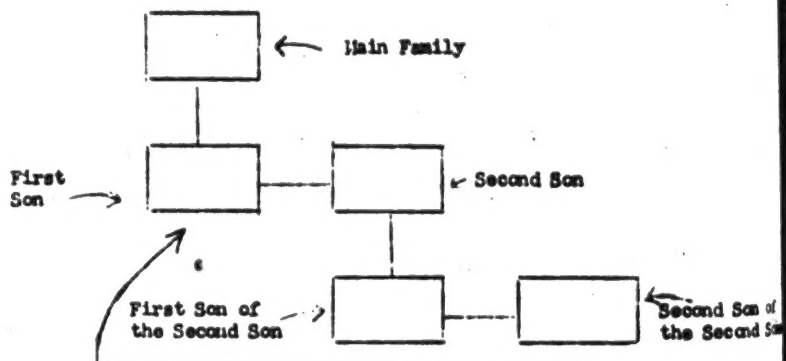
The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

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First Alternative

The first son of the second son is adopted by his uncle, the first son of the original head.



Second Alternative

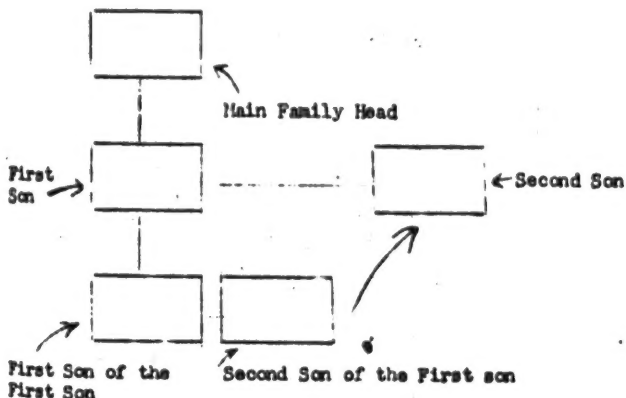
The second son is adopted by his uncle and succeeds to the main family line.

In view of the importance of the first son to the immediate family, it might appear contradictory that a first son would be adopted out. The answer is, I think, that it is more important to secure succession to the main family than it is to the branch family. 597

Since adoptions are so few, it is not possible to say which of these two mechanisms is most frequently used or to make distinctions among villages. Hanashiro informants said that the commonest practice is to adopt the second son of a brother. In Minatogawa, the same situation held, with the added statement that if the brother had only one son, that son would not be adopted by the uncle.

In Matsuda, informants mentioned most frequently the first method, that is the adoption of the first son of the second son to succeed to the family line. In either case, the continuity of both the main and the branch families is provided for.

Adoption may also work in the reverse situation, that is when there is no male heir to the branch family. This would be solved by adopting the second, but never the first son of the brother in direct line of succession:



The adoptions of which we have been speaking are of minor children and independent of marriage arrangements for the daughters of the family. It is possible to adopt a daughter's prospective husband and thus to provide both an heir to the house and a husband for the daughter.

This awkward device is out of keeping with the family system. It places a man in the position of a woman and violates the basic assumption that sons carry on the family of the father. This type of adoption is [183]

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known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married; he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

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Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

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In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

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The "Growing Up" Parent

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There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

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The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep (hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

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The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

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Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

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The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

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The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

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The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or YARO in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

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Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative.

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The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children.

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Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor
from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her
cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed
freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house
without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in general
[764] are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently
died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For
deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The
doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits
of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who
have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta*, a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help
of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through
visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so
that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or
more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira

[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The
most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of
ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct
connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask
the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases,
then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate
to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family
religion.

● 597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child re-
mains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during
the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which hon-
ors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the
year.

Taira: An Okinawan Village 441

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors.

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient.

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father.

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it.

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inoculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as

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Taira: An Okinawan Village 461

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776
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Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597
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Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155
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A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (sumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. [445] [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tia roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." [476] [437] [463]

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimaru is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers: [893]

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located. [178] [249]

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with kaya grass is also yisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record. [452]

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him. [597] ●

789 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

[562] In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.¹

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

¹ The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were:

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yoshi'	140

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Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt. [597]

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.² If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

¹ See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

² Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Kochinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
 592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
 [841] children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as
 legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the
 illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were
 male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the
 same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would
 indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.¹

Additional Three other categories relating to household head sta-
 tus were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories.
 There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as
 household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons
 under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted,
 as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
 592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
 886 In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in
 one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters
 ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of
 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly
 66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
 592 living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
 597 under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight fe-
 male, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted.
 Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up
 to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
 592 26%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before
 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household
 heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 59 instances.
 One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all
 these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelm-
 ing tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second
 sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	4	Adopted Son ²	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

¹ Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

² This boy's Birth order was second son in his family of orientation.